

Unit 8: U.S. Relations--Bosnia and Herzegovina

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you will

Be aware of the following

- Overall implications of the Dayton Peace Agreement
- Substantial progress toward peace as a result of the Dayton Agreement
- President Clinton's address, 22 Dec 1997, to residents of Sarajevo
- President Clinton's perspective on causes of conflict throughout the world
- Aim of U.S. interests for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Core U.S. goals to reenergize the Dayton Accords
- Challenges ahead in 1998 in the implementation of the Dayton Accords

Identify

- Republika Srpska (RS)
- Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Sarajevo
- Zone of Separation (ZOS)
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- Peace Implementation Force (IFOR)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Stabilization Force (SFOR)
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- Brcko

Realize

- Dayton Agreement signatories commitment to prosecute war criminals
- Area of improvement needed by Dayton Peace signatories
- Tradition of tolerance emphasized by President Clinton in his address in Sarajevo
- Recent ugly past of conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Croatia and Serbia's (RS) part in implementing the Dayton Agreement

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"The Americans...God bless them, and may He give them and their children anything they wish for."

-- Ferida Osmic, resident of Omerbegovaca, Bosnia and Herzegovina, after her return from five years as a displaced person (New York Times, 29 July 1977)

"The troops are doing God's work."

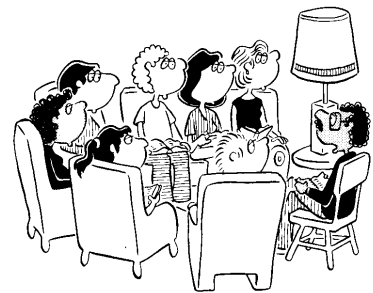
-- New York Times Columnist Tom Friedman, remarks before World Affairs Council, Monterey, Calif., 3 April 1998

This unit surveys current U.S. policy within the former Yugoslavia, following a chronological outline. First, it discusses terms of the Dayton Agreement. Next, it treats Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) findings, Peace Implementation Conference, Lancaster House, London, 4-5 Dec 1996. Then it examines President Clinton's 22 Dec. 1997 speech to residents of Sarajevo, Bosnia. Lastly, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's statement on Bosnia before the House National Security Committee, 18 March 1998, receives treatment.

I. The Dayton Peace Agreement

1. Overview *"The Dayton proximity talks culminated in the initialing on 21 November 1995, of a General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina."*

The agreement was initialed by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [Serbia]. It was witnessed by representatives of the Contact Group nations--the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia--and the European Union Special Negotiator.



According to the terms of the agreement, a sovereign state known as the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Bosnian Serb Republic [Republika Srpska] and the Federation of Bosnia [Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina]." (Fact Sheet, "Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement," Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 11 Dec 1995).

2. Summary of Main Points (Adapted from Bosnia Country Handbook, Peace Implementation Force, p. 1-4).

a. Bosnia and Herzegovina State *"Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain a single state within its current borders. It will be a unified state composed of two political entities: a [Bosniak]-Croat federation and a Bosnian-Serb republic--Republika Srpska."*

b. Sarajevo *"Bosnia and Herzegovina will have a central government located in Sarajevo."*

c. Zone of Separation
"The Former Warring Factions (FWF) will cease all hostilities and withdraw behind a 2-km zone of separation."



d. Elections *"Free and democratic elections will be held throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. People displaced by war will have the right to vote in their original place of residence if they so choose."*

e. Constitution *"The parties have agreed to a constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina that creates a presidency, a bicameral [two chamber] legislature, and a constitutional court."*

f. Freedom of movement

"All of Bosnia's people have the right to move freely throughout the country without harassment or discrimination. Refugees and displaced persons will have the right to return home or obtain compensation."

g. War crimes *"The agreement commits Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina to cooperate fully with the prosecution of war criminals and violations of international and humanitarian law."*

h. Outsiders *"All nonlocal forces and equipment are to be withdrawn from Bosnia and Herzegovina."*

3. IFOR Mission

"In an evenhanded manner," the Peace Implementation Force monitors and enforces "compliance with the military aspects of the Dayton Peace Agreement" (Bosnia Country Handbook, pp. 1-1 to 1-2).

a. Primary IFOR Mission



(1) Obedience *"Ensure compliance by all parties with the withdrawal and redeployment of forces within the agreed timeframes and established zone of separation (ZOS)."*

(2) Zone of Separation *"Demarcate the ZOS"*

(3) Contacts *"Establish liaison with local authorities and international organizations."*

b. Supporting IFOR Missions

(1) Nongovernmental Agencies (NGOs) *"Assist in the movement of international organizations in the accomplishment of their humanitarian mission."*

(2) Ensure protected movement *"Observe and prevent interference with movement of civilian populations, refugees, and displaced persons and to respond to deliberate violence."*

(3) Security *"Help create secure conditions for the conduct by others of the tasks of the peace agreement."*

(4) Minefields *"Monitor the clearing of minefields and obstacles."*

II. Peace Implementation Conference Conclusions

The following summary of IFOR's Operation Joint Endeavor Peace Implementation Conference, Lancaster House, London, 4-5 Dec 1996, gives an outline--from a broad North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) perspective--of progress concerning the Dayton Peace Accords. While not specifically U.S. policy, because of the United States' ties to NATO, it speaks of U.S. concerns.

1. Progress in 1996 Substantial breakthroughs for peace included:

"Peace has taken root: in 1996, no Bosnian has died in military conflict; elections have been held, with the participation of 2.4 million citizens; barriers to freedom of movement have begun to be dismantled; the establishment of the new multi-ethnic common institutions, most recently the setting up of the Council of Ministers, has begun; reconstruction is underway." (Official Summary of Conclusions, p. 1).



2. Immediate Goals *"The next stage is to build upon the achievement of the past twelve months: to consolidate peace; to encourage reconciliation and economic, political and social regeneration; to take the radical steps necessary to restore a multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina to economic health and prosperity and to enable it to take its place in the region and in Europe."*

3. Need for Improvement *"Implementation of the Peace Agreement requires the full commitment of all leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its two Entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska). Little progress has been made in the following areas:"*

- **Displaced persons/refugees** *"Of the 2.1 million citizens displaced or refugees, 250,000 have returned."*
- **Human rights** *"Harassment and movement of peoples due to ethnic reasons continues."*
- **Reconstruction** *"Authorities still needlessly restrict international helping agencies access."*
- **War crimes** *"War criminals have yet to be rounded up and stand trial in The Hague."*
- **Weapons** *"Reductions agreed upon are still not implemented."*
- **Mines** *"Mines have not been cleared."*

4. Responsibility *"While the Peace Implementation Council is committed to the peace process, responsibility for reconciliation lies with the authorities and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who must progressively take charge of their own affairs."*



III. U.S. Policy

"The challenge to peace in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia, has presented not only a human tragedy, but also a barrier to the achievement of a stable and secure Europe. Fortunately, it is also the object of a major U.S. diplomatic success, one that must be backed with staying power."

U.S. priorities are to implement fully the Dayton Peace Agreement, establish national and Federation political and economic institutions under the civilian implementation aspects of the agreement, bring war criminals to justice, settle the status of Brcko, foster the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia, promote democracy, and secure a political solution to the Kosovo issue.

The U.S. is reinforcing our compliance agreements (particularly with Republika Srpska), return of refugees, cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal, democratization, and commerce between the Federation and Republika Srpska."

-- Policy Overview, Establishing a Durable Peace in the Balkans, U.S. Department of State

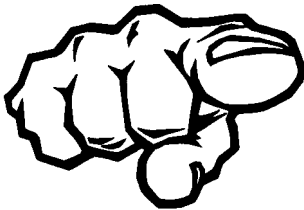


Two key documents outline current U.S. policy in the region-- President Clinton's address to residents of Sarajevo, Bosnia, on 22 Dec 1997 and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's Statement on Bosnia before the House National Security Committee, Washington, D.C., 18 March 1998. This section outlines these important statements.

1. President Clinton's Address, 22 Dec 1997

During his visit to Bosnia in December, President Clinton bolstered U.S. Armed Forces morale by thanking them for their service in promoting peace.

In addition, he spoke to residents of Sarajevo, and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina at large, reminding them to accept responsibility for their future. The following summary of his words outlines the challenge.



a. Introduction

"I come before you with a message for those in whose hand the future of Bosnia lies--its leaders and its people. For in the end the future is up to you--not to the Americans, not to the Europeans, not to anyone else."

b. Responsibility

"Your responsibility is to turn the documents signed in Dayton into a living reality; to make good on the pledge to bring Bosnia together as one country, with two multi-ethnic parts, sharing a common destiny."

c. Accomplishments and work remaining

"You have accomplished much, but there is much more to do."

(1) Democracy

"You have established the joint institutions of democracy. Now you must work within them, sharing power as you share responsibility."

(2) Displaced persons

"You have vowed to welcome back those displaced from their homes by war. Now you must vote for the return program so that they actually can come back with stronger protections for minorities and more job creation."



(3) Economy "You are working to restore Bosnia's economy. Now you must build up the laws to attract assistance and investment, and root out the corruption that undermines confidence in economies."

(4) Media "You have begun to turn the media from an instrument of hate into a force of tolerance and understanding. Now you must raise it to international standards of objectivity and access, and allow an independent press the freedom to thrive."

(5) Police "You are taking the police out of the hands of warlords. Now you must help to reform, retrain and re-equip a democratic force that fosters security, not fear."

(6) War criminals "You have pledged to isolate and arrest indicted war criminals. Now you must follow through on that commitment, both for the sake of justice and in the serving of lasting peace."



(7) Vision "Most of all, the leaders here, you owe it to your country to bring out the best in people, acting in concert, not conflict; overcoming obstacles, not creating them; rising above petty disputes, not fueling them. In the end, leaders in a democracy must bring out the best in people. But in the end, they serve the people who send them to their positions."

d. Tradition of tolerance "I think it is important that all of you remember and teach that the war did violence not only to Bosnia's people, but also to its history, its own tradition of tolerance."

Just minutes from here, standing within yards from one another are a mosque, an Orthodox church, a Catholic church and a synagogue, reminding us that generations of Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Catholics and Jews live side by side and enrich the world by

their example here; built schools and libraries and wondrous places of worship. Part of that population laid down their tools on Friday, part on Saturday and part on Sunday.

But their lives were woven together by marriage and culture, by work and common language and a shared pride in a place all could call home. That past should be remembered."



e. Goodwill *"I am persuaded, having served in this office for five years, that the real differences around the world today are not between Jews and Arabs; Protestants and Catholics; Muslims, Croats and Serbs.*

The real differences are between those who embrace peace and those who would destroy it; between those who look to the future and those who cling to the past; between those who open their arms and those who are determined to clench their fists; between those who believe that God made all of us equal and those foolish enough to believe they are superior to other's just because of the color of their skin, of the religion of their families, of their ethnic background."

f. Harmony *"I was thrilled that the Sarajevo Symphony played before I was introduced to speak. Its violinist and cellist, percussionist and flutist, played together before the war, stayed together during the war, answered the mortars and shells with the sounds of music. Seven of the members were killed--Muslims, Croats and Serbs. Well, they're still here, and they're still Muslims, Croats and Serbs. And to tell you the truth, I know the tuba players from the violinists, but I can't tell the Muslims from the Croats from the Serbs. The harmony of their disparate voices--the harmony of their disparate voices--is what I hear. It reminds me of Bosnia's best past and it should be the clarion call to your future."*

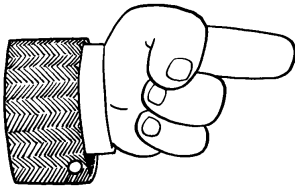
g. Conclusion *"To the people of Bosnia I say, you have seen what war has wrought; now you know what peace can bring."*

So seize the chance before you. You can do nothing to change the past; but if you can let it go, you can do everything to build a future. The world is watching, and the world is with you. But the choice is yours. May you make the right one."

2. State Department Statement on Bosnia

(before the House National Security Committee, 18 March 1998, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright).

a. Aim of peace *"It has been more than two years since the United States led the effort to stop the war in Bosnia."*



Now as then, American interests are ill-served when aggression is undeterred, hatred unleashed, and genocide unchecked and unpunished in the heart of Europe."

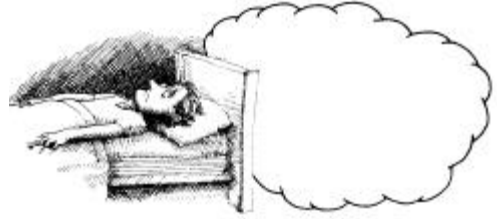
(1) Stability *"A stable peace in Bosnia is essential to stability in the Balkans, which have so often been a flashpoint for war across Europe. Only with peace can we build a Europe that is whole, peaceful and free..."*

(2) Reduction of terrorism *"A durable peace in Bosnia will deny a field of operations to the drug-smugglers, international criminals and terrorists who seek out instability and flourish in the midst of chaos."*

(3) Prosperity *"A real peace in Bosnia will contribute to regional prosperity...and that in turn will help counter the voices of extremism, hatred and violence."*

(4) Democratic aspirations *"...a just peace in Bosnia will help embed the values of democracy and tolerance to which many Bosnians aspire..."*

b. Remembering an ugly past *"Before discussing how far we have to go in Bosnia, let us not forget how far we have come. Let us not forget the years of ethnic cleansing, mass rape, indiscriminate shelling, bombed-out apartments and pre-meditated massacres.*



Neither should we forget the uncertainty, insecurity and devastation the parties faced after the war, when the Dayton Accords were signed and the process of building peace began.

One in every ten Bosnians had been killed or injured in a war that breached every law of decency; a war that had no end short of the total annihilation of one side. Of the survivors, five in ten had been displaced from their homes; eight in ten were relying on the UN for food; and nine in ten were unemployed.

At the time, there were many who said that Bosnians would never again be able to live together, that NATO soldiers would be subject to frequent attack, that democratic institutions could not take hold and that peaceful elections could not be held..."

c. Reinvigorating the Dayton Accords

President Clinton established six core goals to reenergize the stalled Dayton Accords:

(1) Military stability *"Promoting a stable military situation to minimize the prospect of renewed fighting"*

(2) Security *"Improving the ability of local law enforcement authorities to provide public security"*

(3) Democracy *"Advancing the development of democratic institutions that govern in accordance with the rule of law"*

(4) Displaced persons
"Securing the safe return of more displaced persons to their homes, and enabling Bosnians to move freely throughout their country"



(5) War crimes *"Bringing to justice more of the persons who have been indicted for war crimes and other atrocities"*

(6) Reconstruction *"Enhancing economic reconstruction and inter-entity commerce"*

d. The future *"NATO will continue to lead a multi-national force in Bosnia after SFOR's (Stabilization Force) current mandate expires in June. Its mission, again under U.S. command, will continue to be deterring hostilities, supporting the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, and contributing to establishing a secure environment in which Bosnian authorities can increasingly take charge of their country's stability for themselves."*

(1) Benchmarks for success *"President Clinton has made clear that our mission in Bosnia 'must be achievable and tied to concrete benchmarks, not a deadline.' With the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we have established concrete and achievable benchmarks for the success of our presence...Benchmarks include:*

- *police re-training*
- *media reform*
- *democratic elections*
- *elimination of barriers to nationwide commerce*
- *institution of a framework for refugee returns.*

...To meet those benchmarks, and make every moment of our troop presence count, we must accompany our military presence with robust support for democratic institutions, economic recovery, and refugee returns...

The United States is not doing this job alone. We contribute only 17% of the economic aid Bosnia receives; European Union nations contribute over 50 percent. And we are looking for increased European support for critical priorities such as police reform."

(2) Challenges this year *"...several challenges this year have the potential to derail Bosnia's progress--or put it on the fast track to completion."*

- **Elections** *"Bosnia's second nation-wide elections will be held in September, under OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] supervision."*
- **Refugees** *"We have made a promising start on the return of refugees and displaced persons. The new RS [Republika Srpska] government has made a strong commitment to improve what has until recently been a dismal performance. We will be watching their efforts."*
- **Organized crime** *"Corruption and the growth of organized crime are major problems that must be tackled with even greater vigor this year--especially through police reform."*
- **Economic reform** *"Both the Bosnian Federation and the Republika Srpska must do more to re-integrate and reform their economies, if they are to re-establish Bosnia's self-sufficiency and work toward integrating their country with Europe and the world."*



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- Brcko "Arbitrator Robert Owens recently announced that he would defer for another year the final decision on the status of the city of Brcko. He made clear that the extent of both sides' compliance with Dayton will be a significant factor in his final decision--and put squarely on the Republika Srpska the burden of showing that it should retain the city."



- Croatia and Serbia "Bosnia's neighbors--particularly Croatia and Serbia--have commitments they must fulfill and responsibilities they must meet in order to promote regional peace and make possible their own integration with the West."

(a) Croatia "...we are watching for actions to demonstrate Zagreb's commitment to all aspects of the regional peace process."

The government must make good on its promise to pursue national reconciliation within Croatia by facilitating the return of refugees; specifically, by making good on its pledge to announce plans for the return and documentation of refugees...Croatia's failure to make progress in building democracy at home is disappointing, and it has delayed the country's integration into European and trans-Atlantic institutions. We also expect Croatia to...assist in seeing that persons indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal face justice."

(b) Serbia "We are even more concerned by developments in Serbia. Most importantly, President Milosevic has again thrown the stability of the entire region into question with his campaign of bloody repression in Kosovo..."



We must not allow President Milosevic's brutal and illegitimate methods there to undo the progress toward peace and stability that has been made throughout the region...

If Serbia wishes to ease its international isolation, it must show that it is ready to shift from repression to a search for genuine political solution.

We will continue to explore all possibilities for dialogue, and to emphasize that the use of violence by either side to resolve a political problem is unacceptable and wrong.

But there should be no doubt that we are prepared to take additional steps if Belgrade elects to continue repression in Kosovo. We will keep all options open to do what is necessary to prevent another wave of violence from overtaking the Balkans."



"There's the good-byes and tears, the uncertainty and fears. There's the mud and the dirt, the pain and the hurt...and then there's the children.

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There's the food and the showers, the long working hours. There's the cold and the heat, the blisters on the feet...and then there's the children.

And then there's the children, who always wave as we pass by. Beaming with a precious smile, making all this worthwhile...and then there's the children.

Who with one precious glance are thanking us for taking this chance. One look, one hug, one moment shared will bring joy beyond compare.

If as each and every day goes by, one more person does not die...If all this trouble and strife I only save a single life...then worthwhile has it all been and I would do it all again...for the children."

-- Anonymous Sergeant, 1st Infantry Division,
Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Review Quiz: U.S. Relations--Bosnia and Herzegovina



Part 1--Multiple Choice Place the letter of the most correct answer in the blank provided.

1. ____ According to the Dayton Peace Agreement, the Republic of Bosnia will consist of
 - a. one entity.
 - b. two entities.
 - c. three entities.
2. ____ Another name for the Bosnian Serb Republic is
 - a. Republika Srpska.
 - b. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
 - c. Bosniak.
3. ____ According to the Dayton Accords, all of Bosnia's people have a right to move freely
 - a. without harassment or discrimination.
 - b. only during certain hours of the day.
 - c. once SFOR peacekeepers leave.
4. ____ In 1996, of the 2.1 million displaced citizens or refugees in Bosnia, _____ returned.
 - a. 25,000
 - b. 920,000
 - c. 250,000

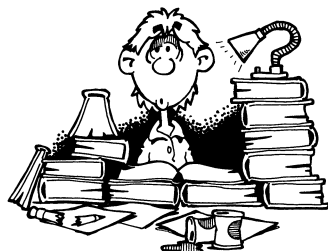
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5. _____ In President Clinton's address in Sarajevo (22 Dec 1997), he said, "leaders in a democracy must bring out the _____ in people.
- a. worst
 - b. passion
 - c. best
6. _____ President Clinton's address in Sarajevo pointed out the long Bosnian tradition of
- a. neutrality toward foreign powers.
 - b. tolerance even within its own history.
 - c. ambiguity toward peace and freedom.
7. _____ As a result of the recent Bosnian conflict, _____ out of ten survivors have been displaced from their homes.
- a. 3
 - b. 5
 - c. 7
8. _____ As a result of the recent Bosnian conflict, _____ out of ten survivors were unemployed.
- a. 5
 - b. 7
 - c. 9
9. _____ One of President Clinton's benchmarks for U.S. success in Bosnia is
- a. media reform.
 - b. mine-field clearance.
 - c. bringing out the best in all peoples.
10. _____ The United States contributes around _____ percent of the economic aid Bosnia receives.
- a. 17
 - b. 38
 - c. 46

Part 2--True or False Place a T or F in the blank provided.



1. _____ The two political entities now within Bosnia and Herzegovina are a Bosniak-Croat Federation and a Bosnian-Serb Republic.
2. _____ The central government of Bosnia and Herzegovina is now located in Tuzla.
3. _____ The zone of separation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 5 kilometers wide.
4. _____ According to the Dayton Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina will have a constitution, presidency and two chamber legislature.
5. _____ Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina are all to cooperate fully in the prosecution of war criminals.
6. _____ Within one year after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, IFOR's Peace Implementation Conference could see much progress made toward peace.
7. _____ According to the IFOR's Peace Implementation Council, the IFOR is responsible for reconciliation between the various Bosnia and Herzegovina factions.
8. _____ President Clinton sees the real differences around the world today as being with those who embrace peace and those who would destroy it.
9. _____ In President Clinton's address to Sarajevo, 22 Dec. 1997, he emphasized citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina must accept responsibility for their future.
10. _____ President Clinton's remarks in Sarajevo pointed out the need for a democratic, security enhancing police force.



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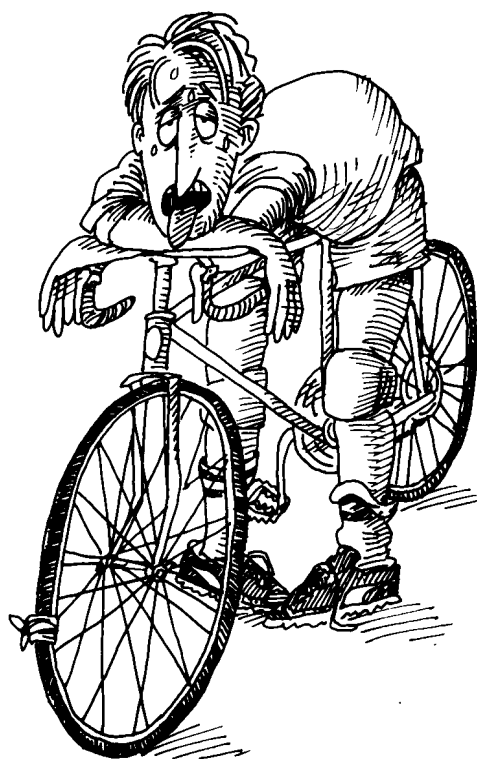
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Description of images at a Congressional hearing in Washington, D.C., that "explored the West's inaction while thousands were massacred by Bosnian Serbs soldiers at the United Nations 'safe haven' of Srebrenica in July 1995."

Wilson, George C. "The Bosnia Hearings." Army Times, 19 Jan 1998, p. 50.

Columnist Wilson argues for congressional hearings which "would command worldwide attention and throw light on one of the important questions confronting the American people: Is Bosnia worth dying for?"



"Tough training saves lives in battle."
General John A. Wickham, Jr.

